

Message Text

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SUBJ: EC NINE PAPER IN ANTICIPATION OF APRIL 27 CSCE SESSION AT
NATO

REF: COPENHAGEN 2223

1. AT LUCH TODAY WITH A FOREIGN MINISTRY CONTACT, POLCOUNS HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO READ THROUGH A TWELVE-PAGE CABLE ON BELGRADE THAT THE DANES HAVE PUT ON THE COREU CIRCUIT FOR APPROVAL BY THE OTHER EIGHT. THIS PAPER IS A DANISH REDRAFT OF THE DOCUMENT THAT SERVED AS THE BASIS FOR THE APRIL 3-4 DISCUSSION HERE OF THE NINE'S CSCE EXPERTS. AS INDICATED IN REFTEL, THE WIDE RANGING AND DIVERGENT VIEWS VOICED AT THAT MEETING RESULTED IN THE THOROUGH REVISION WHICH IS NOW BEING CIRCULATED. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY CONTACT NOTED THAT THE NINE ARE NOT ATTEMPTING TO REACH CONSENSUS ON THEIR EVALUATION OF BELGRADE BUT ARE INSTEAD STRIVING TO PRESENT A DOCUMENT THAT CONTAINS DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND RAISES QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AT NATO.

2. THE PAPER IS DIVIDED INTO 4 MAJOR PARTS: (1) THE STATUS OF
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DETENTE BEFORE BELGRADE; (2) A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE BELGRADE MEETING; (3) AN EVALUATION OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THE NINE AT BELGRADE; (4) THE IMPACT OF BELGRADE ON THE DETENTE PROCESS. SET OUT BELOW ARE PARTS OF THE PAPER WHICH STRUCK THE EYE OF THE POLCOUNS AND WHICH HE HAD A CHANCE TO NOTE DOWN.

3. UNDER (2), A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE BELGRADE MEETING, THE

PAPER CONCLUDES THAT ON BALANCE BELGRADE WAS A SUCCESS. THE THOROUGH-GOING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AFTER HELSINKI WAS USEFUL. THE FAILURE TO OBTAIN A BALANCED, SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WAS NOTED.

4. UNDER (3), THE PAPER CONCLUDES THAT THE NINE DID NOT PERFORM AS WELL AS THEY MIGHT HAVE. THERE WAS APPARENTLY OPINION ON BOTH SIDES AMONG THE NINE ON THE FOLLOWING PROPOSITIONS WHICH WERE RAISED AS QUESTIONS:

----SHOULD THERE HAVE BEEN LESS EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WOULDN'T IT HAVE BEEN MORE PRODUCTIVE NOT TO RAISE INDIVIDUAL CASES?

----SHOULDN'T THERE HAVE BEEN FEWER NEW PROPOSALS, AND SHOULD THOSE NEW PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN COUCHED IN MORE, OR LESS, SPECIFIC TERMS?

----DIDN'T THE ALLIES INEFFECT PAINT THEMSELVES INTO A CORNER BY OVEREMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT?

----SHOULD THE CLOSING DATE OF THE CONFERENCE HAVE BEEN NAILED DOWN PRECISELY IN ADVANCE?

----WERE PRESS CONTACTS TOO INTENSIVE? DID THIS CONTRIBUTE TO UNDUE PRESS EMPHASIS ON THE POLEMICAL ASPECTS OF THE MEETING?

----SHOULDN'T AT LEAST PART OF THE MADRID MEETING BE CONDUCTED AT THE "POLITICAL" (READ "FOREIGN MINISTER") LEVEL?

5. ALL THE NINE APPARENTLY CONCLUDED THAT COORDINATION AMONG THE ALLIES SHOULD START EARLIER AND BE MORE INTENSIVE BEFORE MADRID
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THEN IT WAS PRE-BELGRADE. ALL AGREE THAT THERE SHOULD BE MORE CONSULTATION WITH THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED (NNA) BOTH BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY THROUGH THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN STRASBOURG. (THE FOREIGN MINISTRY CONTACT COMMENTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE FRENCH ARE STILL INTERESTED IN TRYING TO DIFFERENTIATE AMONG THE NNA FOR CONSULTATION PURPOSES, THE DANES DID NOT INCLUDE THIS IN THEIR DRAFT).

6. A FRENCH IDEA, NOT SHARED BY THE OTHER EIGHT, WHICH IS INCLUDED IS THAT THE NINE SHOULD LIMIT THEIR EXCHANGES AT NATO BEFORE AND DURING MADRID TO CONSULTATIONS AND SEEK TO COORDINATE IN THE NATO FRAMEWORK ONLY MILITARY QUESTIONS.

7. UNDER (4), THE NINE CONCLUDE THAT BELGRADE HAS HAD NEGLIGIBLE EFFECT ON DETENTE. THE MEETING DID DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS FRIENDS THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE WEST GIVES THE HUMAN ASPECT OF THE DETENTE PROCESS. ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT AREAS, THE NINE BELIEVE, IS THE EFFECT OF DETENTE ON WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION. THE NINE BELIEVE THAT WESTERN PUBLICS HAVE, BY AND LARGE, BEEN KEENLY DISAPPOINTED OVER THE "LACK" OF RESULTS FROM BELGRADE. IT IS IMPORTANT, THE NINE BELIEVE, THAT THE DETENTE PROCESS AND CSCE NOT BE OVERSOLD AS A "QUICK FIX" BUT

SOMETHING THAT WILL TAKE A LONG TIME AND REQUIRE GREAT PATIENCE.

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